

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
----- 072942

O R 141649 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3485

INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY DJAKARTA

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

USDEL JEC PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 1767

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, VS, PL, HU

SUBJECT: ICCS: POLISH AND HUNGARIAN OBSTRUCTIONISM

REF: (A) WARSAW 1766; (B) STATE 069 010

1. FOLLOWING READING OF ORAL STATEMENT, TREPCZYNSKI SAID HE WISHED TO ADD THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS IN THE NAME OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MINISTRY AND OF HIMSELF, PERSONALLY.

2. HE SAID THE MINISTRY UNDERSTOOD VERY WELL THE CONCERN OF THE U. S. GOVERNMENT AS A RESULT OF THE DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM. THEY WERE ALSO VERY CONCERNED BECAUSE THEY HAD A DELEGATION IN THE ICCS, WHICH WAS DOING WHAT IT COULD TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE RESTORATION OF PEACE. IT WAS, HOWEVER, QUITE OBVIOUS THAT POLAND HAD NO INFLUENCE ON THE CONTINUING CONFLICT IN VIETNAM, NOR HAD POLAND PARTICIPATED IN FORMULATING THE PROVISIONS OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT. POLAND HAD TAKEN PART IN THE PARIS CONFERENCE, AS WE KNEW, AND THE MINISTRY FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND OUR COMPLAINTS, BECAUSE WHAT THE POLISH DELEGATION WAS DOING IN THE ICCS CONSTITUTED THE DEFENSE OF THE INTEGRITY OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT
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-- A DEFENSE WHICH THE MINISTRY REGARDED AS BEING AS MUCH IN THE INTEREST OF ACHIEVING THE U. S. GOAL AS OF

THE POLISH GOAL OF CONTRIBUTING TO THE RESTORATION OF PEACE. THE ICCS, HE SAID, WAS OPERATING UNDER VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES AND WE COULD NOT EXPECT IT TO ACHIEVE TOO MUCH.

3. THE MINISTRY REGARDED AS UNACCEPTABLE THE CONTENTION THAT THE SITUATION IN THE ICCS SHOULD HAVE AN IMPACT ON U. S.- POLISH BILATERAL RELATIONS. IF THAT SHOULD BE THE CASE, THEN THE MINISTRY WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER WHETHER IT HAD BEEN RIGHT IN ACCEPTING THE INVITATION OF THE U. S. AND THE DRV TO JOIN THE ICCS.

4. THE DEFERMENT OF THE KACZMAREK AND MITREGA VISITS WAS ASTONISHING AND THE MINISTRY WOULD REALLY PREFER NOT TO COMMENT ON IT. IT COULD NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS DEFERMENT COULD IN FACT OCCUR, SINCE THE VISITS CONFORMED TO THE DECISIONS REACHED DURING PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT TO WARSAW.

5. CONSEQUENTLY, THE MINISTRY HOPES THAT THIS DECISION IS NOT THE FINAL ONE AND THAT IT MIGHT BE RECONSIDERED.

6. AS HE HAD TOLD ME THEY WOULD, THEY HAD HAD INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH AMBASSADOR WASILEWSKI DURING HIS STAY HERE (HE IS STILL IN WARSAW AND SHOULD RETURN TO SAIGON IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS). THEY HAVE DISCUSSED THE ENTIRE SITUATION WITH HIM AND AS A RESULT QUITE UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION AND THE DIFFICULTIES UNDER WHICH THE ICCS WAS OPERATING. IT COULD NOT BE A POLICE FORCE AND COULD ONLY FULFILL ITS ROLE EFFECTIVELY WHEN IT HAD THE COOPERATION OF THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE SIDES. AS HE HAD TOLD ME LAST SATURDAY, THE POLISH PRESS HAD SUBSTANTIALLY MODIFIED ITS TREATMENT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM AS A RESULT OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM. WE WOULD NOTE THAT THE PRESS HAD NOT PUBLISHED ANYTHING RECRIMINATORY OR POLEMICAL AS A RESULT OF THE SHOOTING DOWN OF THE ICCS HELICOPTER LAST WEEK, ALTHOUGH THEY HAD BEEN TOLD BY THE PRG THAT THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIETNAM FORCES SOMETIMES USED MARKINGS ON THEIR OWN
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HELICOPTERS WHICH RESEMBLED THOSE USED ON ICCS HELICOPTERS AND DESPITE THE FACT THAT IT APPEARED THE HELICOPTERS WERE SOME TWENTY- FIVE MILES OUT OF THE CORRIDOR IN WHICH THEY WERE SUPPOSED TO FLY. AS THEY HAD SAID IN THEIR ORAL STATEMENT, THEY DID NOT WISH TO POLEMICIZE IN THE PRESS ON THESE MATTERS.

7. I SAID THAT I WOULD IMMEDIATELY TRANSMIT TO MY GOVERNMENT THE TWO STATEMENTS HE HAD MADE. I COULD,

HOWEVER, GIVE HIM SOME PERSONAL REACTIONS NOW.

8. FIRST, I SAID THAT IT SEEMED TO ME BETTER NOT TO DWELL ON THE SHOOTING- DOWN OF THE ICCS HELICOPTER. THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME I HAD HEARD THE ALLEGATION THAT GRV HELICOPTERS SOMETIMES BORE MARKINGS RESEMBLING THOSE USED BY THE ICCS. TREPCZYNSKI INTERRUPTED TO SAY THAT THIS WAS SOMETHING THEY HAD HEARD, BUT OF WHICH THEY HAD NO PROOF. I SAID THE FACT REMAINED THAT THE HELICOPTERS HAD ABOARD THEM PRG PERSONNEL WHO WERE SUPPOSED TO SERVE AS NAVIGATORS. I DID NOT SEE HOW THIS INCIDENT COULD BY ANY STRETCH OF THE IMAGINATION BE LAID AT THE DOOR OF ANYBODY BUT THE PRG.

9. SECOND, NOBODY HAD IMAGINED THAT THE TASK OF THE ICCS WOULD BE EITHER EASY OR WITHOUT RISK. NEITHER DID WE THINK THAT THE ICCS COULD OR SHOULD BE A POLICE FORCE, NOR, IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE POLISH GOVERNMENT, HAD WE BASED ANYTHING WE SAID ON SUCH A CONCEPT OF ITS ROLE. WE HAD BEEN ASKING, ON THE OTHER HAND, THAT COMPLAINTS OF VIOLATIONS WHICH CAME BEFORE THE ICCS BE DEALT WITH BY ALL DELEGATIONS ON AS OBJECTIVE AND IMPARTIAL A BASIS AS POSSIBLE. IT WAS IN THIS AREA, AND NOT IN ANY OTHER, THAT WE HAD RAISED THIS ISSUE, PURSUANT TO THE SUGGESTION FOREIGN MINISTER OLSZOWSKI HAD MADE TO ME ON FEBRUARY 2 THAT WE BRING TO EACH OTHER'S ATTENTION ANY PROBLEMS WE SAW TOWARDS THE SOLUTION OF WHICH WE THOUGHT THE OTHER PARTY COULD MAKE A CONTRIBUTION. WE CONTINUED TO BE DISSATISFIED WITH THE ATTITUDE DISPLAYED BY MEMBERS OF THE POLISH DELEGATION TOWARDS COMPLAINTS OF PRG VIOLATIONS. WHEN SUCH COMPLAINTS WERE MADE, OTHER DELEGATIONS WERE PREPARED TO INVESTIGATE THEM, BUT THE POLISH AND HUNGARIAN

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DELEGATIONS ALL TOO FREQUENTLY WERE NOT. I COULD SUPPLY A CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONAL LIST OF SUCH CASES, WHICH OUR EMBASSY IN SAIGON HAD REPORTED SINCE ASSISTANT SECRETARY GREEN HAD FIRST SPOKEN WITH AMBASSADOR TRAMPCZYNSKI AND, INDEED, SINCE DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH HAD SPOKEN WITH MR. FRACKIEWICZ. IT WOULD PERHAPS BE ENOUGH SIMPLY TO CITE THE CASE IN WHICH POLISH AND HUNGARIAN DELEGATES HAD REFUSED TO JOIN MEMBERS OF THE CANADIAN AND INDO-NESIAN TEAMS AT QUANG TRI BEACUASE THEY WERE AFRAID THAT SNAKES WERE IN THE AREA. I UNDERSTOOD THAT, DURING OUR ENTIRE INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM, ONLY ONE U. S. SOLDIER HAD DIED OF SNAKEBITE. THIS MIGHT SEEM A TRIVIAL EXAMPLE, BUT, TAKEN WITH ALL THE OTHERS, IT LEFT US WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THE POLISH DELEGATION WAS SEEKING PRETEXTS TO AVOID DOING AS MUCH AS IT COULD.

10. THE CONTENTION THAT INVESTIGATIONS COULD ONLY BE UNDERTAKEN WHEN THERE WAS COOPERATION BETWEEN THE ICCS AND BOTH SOUTH VIETNAMESE SIDES SEEMED TO US CALCULATED TO UNDERMINE THE POSSIBILITY OF MAKING ANY INVESTIGATION AT ALL. THAT WAS WHY WE HAD POINTED PARTICULARLY TO ARTICLE 2 OF THE PROTOCOL ON THE ICCS, WHICH MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE COMMISSION SHOULD INVESTIGATE WHENEVER IT HAD ADEQUATE GROUNDS FOR BELIEVING THERE HAD BEEN A VIOLATION.

11. FINALLY, I SAID, THE IMPORTANT POINT WAS THAT THERE SHOULD BE EVIDENCE IN THE ACTIONS OF THE POLISH DELEGATION ON THE GROUND IN SOUTH VIETNAM THAT IT WAS PREPARED TO MAKE INVESTIGATIONS WHEN COMPLAINTS WERE MADE BY EITHER SIDE, BY THE GRV AS WELL AS THE PRG.

12. I ADDED THAT I CERTAINLY DID NOT WISH TO SEE AN INTERRUPTION OF THE FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENT OF US- POLISH RELATIONS, WHICH HAD OCCURRED AS A RESULT OF THE PRESIDENT' S VISIT. IT WAS PRECISELY FOR THIS REASON THAT WE HAD BEEN BRINGING THE SITUATION IN THE ICCS TO THE ATTENTION OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT. IT WAS WITH THIS IN M
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 07 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 APR 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973WARSAW01767
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: WARSAW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730460/abqcelqs.tel
Line Count: 183
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: (A) WARSAW 1766; (B) STATE 069 010
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 17 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17-Aug-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <09-Nov-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> jms 980121
Subject: ICCS: POLISH AND HUNGARIAN OBSTRUCTIONISM
TAGS: MARR, HU, PL
To: STATE INFO BUDAPEST
DJAKARTA
OTTAWA
SAIGON
JEC PARIS
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

